

The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

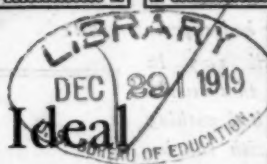
DECEMBER, 1919

An American Ideal

The Value of
Labor Unions

Democracy in Academe

From the Locals



Bur of Education
Washington
D C

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

From the Environs

THE origin of this union had nothing to do with salaries, inadequate as they were.

It developed from a smoldering revolt of the teachers against the tyranny and indignities inflicted upon them. That there may be neither tyranny nor injustice now is no argument against a combining; for accident or death could change the present administration before tomorrow morning; and teachers must not be at the mercy of a chance good or bad superintendent.

I will say in passing that while salaries had nothing to do with the inception of this Federation, there is a sign by which you can tell when your salaries are large enough—when you see men scrambling for your jobs.

An organization of teachers is an organization of women; but that is not our fault; men refuse to be teachers.

No one person has brought about this organization. No one did so little as myself, others did it for me. Again and again I found myself in front of a stone wall that I could neither get thru nor over; and invariably along came one young and good looking, who said, "Why, that's easy," and vaulting over picked the apple and jumped down again.

These young and good-looking ones lived at Waikiki—and Kakaako; Manoa and Kalihi.

Some object to the word "union," but to me it has a good sound. It is one of the names of our country; one of our national mottoes contains it—"In union is strength"; and we once had a very patriotic song that went "The union forever, hurrah, boys, hurrah."

Our charter includes the entire Territory. Our name is Hawaii Teachers' Union, Local 116.

Between now and the next meeting talk

to every teacher you know about joining your teachers' union. Work for a hundred per cent. membership. A protective association, to protect, must have strength; a large membership is strength. If people ask what your union is working for, answer: for a hundred per cent. membership. If a woman wants to make her own clothes, she first gets a sewing machine. Your machine is a large

membership; we have no other business on hand at present but to get a membership; first a hundred per cent for Honolulu, then for Oahu. Next write to every teacher you know on the other islands urging them to bring their island up to a hundred per cent. membership, till the record of the Territory of Hawaii beats every other local in the American Federation of Teachers.

—From Address of Mrs. Estelle Baker, Secretary Local No. 116, A F of T, printed in *The New Freedom*, Honolulu, T. H.

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The American Teacher

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DECEMBER, 1919

One Dollar a Year

MORE LIGHT

We commend to our readers the examination and the wide use of the article in this issue on "The Value of Labor Unions." This is just what we have been needing, a historically accurate presentation in the form of the development of the trade union movement. Our critics may be surprised to learn that the trade union movement is not only a social movement, but also a philanthropic movement of so great importance that it has now the generous approval of practically all bodies of religious organizations, Catholic and Protestant alike.

Miss Mortimer deserves our gratitude for this fine piece of work.

GET THE YOUNGSTERS TO TALKING

College debating societies in the states of New York, Oregon and Texas have asked the American Teacher for material to be used in debating the question, "Shall Teachers Join Unions and Affiliate with the American Federation of Labor?" A committee of Chicago teachers is preparing a brief to be available for use by debating clubs, as well as by members of the A F of T who find themselves in the position of having to convince someone.

LABOR HAS AN UNFAIR LIST

The American Federation of Teachers has no objection to the increasing manifestation of opposition to the union movement on the part of members of other state or national bodies of teachers and school officials. In fact, opposition is good advertising. However, our organization deplores the undignified attempts that are being made over the country by a former president of a national organization of teachers to connect our union movement with certain unpopular foreign political propaganda. Let him stick to his brief of arguments.

The Minnesota Educational Association has been called to account by the St. Paul Federation of

Women Teachers for making a premeditated attack on teachers' unions in general at a meeting publicly announced for other purposes.

At a meeting of the superintendents of New York State, held this autumn at Troy, N. Y., speakers ridiculed the movement for salary improvement for teachers.

We do not object to opposition except when it is dishonest or unfair.

AN AMERICAN IDEAL—A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERYONE.

Union teachers the country over find themselves under direct or indirect pressure on account of the crisis developing from the steel strike and the coal strike. A body of union policemen are punished for belonging to the union by the dismissal of their officers, and when they strike in resentment they are condemned to lose their jobs altogether. Politicians use the occasion for making political capital, and incidentally all unions suffer temporary disapprobation. A union of college teachers is formed in a large city, and immediately word begins to reach individuals from the "higher-ups" that it will be to the advantage of the individuals not to identify themselves with the union. Not only do members find themselves under pressure, but teachers contemplating the matter of joining hesitate and decide to wait. This is a serious situation for the cause of unionism, and gives rise to the necessity of serious thought.

We are members of a labor organization. We are convinced that this organization is thoroly American in its history and in its outlook. Not until important groups of our membership began to take effective steps to relieve an intolerable economic situation did anyone question the Americanism of the labor movement.

Then, as it dawned upon persons that labor was actually getting a measure of return commensurate with its service, there developed the thought that labor was becoming tyrannical, and was mainly responsible thru its economic gains for the high cost of living. At this stage of their thinking large numbers of the so-called "middle class" appear to have decided to throw whatever power they may possess on the side of the industrial barons. Some with especial capacity for initiative of a certain kind offered to go to the mines and dig. The executive officers of certain states took the preliminary steps to exercising their right of eminent domain in taking over the mines in the fuel crisis.

We must frankly acknowledge that the union teachers find themselves in a difficult position. They are essentially law-abiding citizens, and it troubles them sorely to be placed where their affiliation with labor may be interpreted as giving aid to those who oppose the law. At the same time, we are full grown men and women of trained intelligence, and it is impossible that we shall become panicstricken if middle-class friends accuse us of fighting the government. There are good reasons why, on the one hand, that we must not become panicstricken, and on the other, must actively strive to analyze the complicated situation in our economic life. In the first place, we have ourselves to save from economic extermination, and to point out the way by which our middle-class friends themselves may be saved. And then we must strip the cloak of hypocrisy from the shoulders of the sinister figures in American life, who have succeeded immeasurably in concealing their evil purpose of absorbing the whole of our great wealth.

A class of owners has developed and gained enormous power thru their control of the machinery and the means of transportation. It has been the interest of the owners to carry on production under such conditions that the profits of the enterprise may be as great as possible. Fundamentally, so far as the thinking of the owners is concerned, there never was any reason for great commercial or industrial enterprises except the reason of profit. The public has always been considered by them chiefly as the source from which money could be ex-

tracted. Our brothers and sisters in the shops, in the mills, and on the great transportation systems organized the trade union movement, and began the struggle to create for themselves decent living conditions.

It is well to note that the purpose of the trade union movement was the same as the teachers union movement. In no sense is either a movement to create profit. The clear proof of this is to be found in the fact that no profit exists. While we are giving thought to the question of what American ideals are being jeopardized by the present industrial situation, we must ask ourselves whether the organization of great industrial enterprises for profit is one of our American ideals, or whether it may be equally, or preferably, American to say that human beings shall be fed and housed decently.

It would pass the bounds of probability that teachers, or any other middle-class group, should doubt that great industrial organizations exist for profit, and that the owners get the profits. In 1914 the profits of the U. S. Steel Corporation were \$23,496,768; in 1915, \$75,833,833; in 1916, \$271,531,730; and in 1917, \$457,685,000. The government investigation has shown the packing interests to be carrying on equally profitable business. Lately Mr. Wm. McAdoo, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, has said that the profit in the coal industry has been as great as 2,000 per cent.

Should there be doubt any longer that the union movement is the single definite organized force in American life today that has a chance of checking the infamous development of the profit system, in the interest of the preservation of American ideals?

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The Value of Labor Unions.

FLORENCE C MORTIMER

Vice-President, The Grade Teachers Union, Washington, D C

“OTHER things being equal, the productivity of a community will be determined by its labor power. Wherever there is a large body of laborers there is an opportunity for the creation of wealth such as does not exist in a sparse population. But the more essential elements are the strength, ability, zeal, happiness, intelligence and physical condition of the laborers. A laboring population that is full of hope, thrift, and happiness will accomplish a vast deal more than slave labor driven by the lash.”*

What are the disadvantages endured by the great mass of working men and women which have sapped vitality, made happiness impossible? What were the conditions that gave birth to the organization of the laboring classes? What conditions are the unions striving to overcome?

First may be mentioned poverty, with its causes, unemployment and low wages, and its train of results—suffering, immorality and crime. Next come long working hours, resulting in physical exhaustion, and lack of opportunity for family life, amusement and culture. Add to these unsanitary working conditions, and we have in a large sense the situation which called into being the organizations for mutual benefit, known as labor unions.

By what processes had the workers of the civilized world been forced into such plights? The industrial revolution in England brought about the changes that caused these conditions to exist. During the last half of the eighteenth century there came a series of revolutionary inventions which completely changed industry. Before this, man used little artificial power and the manufacturer often lived in the village or kept some live stock, and worked on nearby farms. He was near to the food supply and had opportunity to use his extra time to good advantage.

The invention of the spinning jenny, the power loom and the carding machine gave an impetus to the cheap and wholesale production of textiles. These industries were no longer carried on in the

home, and the worker found himself living in a crowded city or town to be near his work in the factory.

These same years saw the invention of the steam engine, and the discovery of the process of smelting iron by coal, besides other inventions in the pottery and printing trades, all of which tended to the development of the modern factory system. England began to change from a country of small farms and pastures to a land of manufacturing towns. The growth of the towns meant the growth of a labor supply for the factories.

This change from a rural to a city residence on the part of hundreds of thousands of men was attended by widespread and acute misery. No one was concerned about the well being of the newcomers. They lived in the smallest of dingy, filthy rooms, in ill-built houses, on ill-kept streets, all ages and sexes herded together—their number constantly being increased by the large amount of surplus labor released by the change from hand manufacture to machine, and the failure of crops in the rural districts.

The day's work was gradually lengthened, in some cases to fourteen, sixteen or more hours, while wages fell to the lowest point compatible with mere existence. Children and even idiots were employed in the mills—and in some cases employers, instead of paying wages, were rewarded for ridding the parish of orphans, idiots and paupers. In the textile factories men worked side by side with their wives and children, in the warm, humid atmosphere of the unventilated rooms.

In the coal mines conditions were even worse, if that were possible, for over one-fourth of the employees were children or boys under twenty and some of these entered the mine at six, five or even four years of age and worked for twelve hours at a stretch in the dark, damp passages, in some cases hauling little cars of coal through openings too small for a donkey to penetrate. The degradation of the standard of life of the skilled manual worker,

*Blackmar and Gillin: *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 196-7.

on the break-up of the medieval system, occurred in all sorts of trades.

It is easy to understand how the massing together in factories of regiments of men all engaged in the same trade facilitated and promoted the formation of trade societies. These societies differed from trade unions in that they were limited to journeymen workers in one trade, and were more like the ancient Craft Guilds in the service they performed in trying to regulate their trades by petitioning the Government and the House of Commons to save the wage earners from the new policy of buying labor, like the raw material of manufacture, in the cheapest market. But they soon found all appeals to be vain, for the medieval regulations were being fast swept away and the operatives found themselves abandoned by the law. When in 1776, Adam Smith published his "Wealth of Nations" with its policy of "*laissez faire*," it was accepted as the English gospel of freedom of contract and "natural liberty," by the statesmen of the time.

It was this change of industrial policy on the part of the government in England that brought all trades into line, and for the first time produced what can properly be called a Trade Union Movement in that country. When in 1803, the West of England weavers combined with those of Yorkshire to employ an attorney to take action against certain employers for infringing old laws fixing the rate of wages and limiting the number of apprentices, Parliament hastily passed an act suspending these statutes, in order to put a stop to the prosecutions. It had become apparent that legal proceedings under these obsolete laws were futile and costly.

On the other hand, the laws against combinations of workmen were maintained and even increased in severity. From 1799 to 1824 the Trade Union Movement went thru a period of persecution and continuous repression. Meetings were often held in secret and leaders frequently arrested and thrown into prison. In spite of this, the movement grew and constantly enlarged the scope of its benevolent purposes.

The repeal in 1824 of the obnoxious laws against combinations, largely thru the efforts of Samuel Place, a tailor and a leader among trade unionists, gave new life to the cause of unionism and trade

societies sprang up on all sides. The next year the publication of the "Trades Newspaper and Mechanics Weekly Journal" was started with the motto: "They helped every one his neighbor, and everyone said to his brother, 'Be of good cheer.'" This has been the spirit of Trade Unionism ever since.

The Industrial Revolution did not affect life in America to any appreciable degree until after the war of 1812, but when our factories once got a start and were fostered by the tariff so that they became prosperous, the same conditions existed as were found in England. The length of the day's labor varied from twelve to fifteen hours. The regulations of Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning, which was typical of factory regulations of the time. Wages were pitifully small and trades unions and combinations of workmen received bitter denunciation from employers.

However the laboring classes were not without powerful friends in those early days, for their cause was championed by such men as William Ellery Channing, Robert Rantoul and Horace Mann, and the movement for union grew.

The topic of liveliest interest among the working classes in the United States from the earliest time to the present day has been the establishment of a normal working day. During the colonial period and for many years afterward the "sun to sun" system prevailed. This resulted in a working day at times of sixteen hours. The laborers early protested against this and the agitation was constantly kept up.

In 1840, after a long and bitter fight by organized labor, President Van Buren signed an order establishing the ten hour day in the Navy Yard at Washington, and "in all public establishments." The example thus set was soon followed by owners of private ship yards, and by some factory owners. Thus thru the long and untiring efforts of the unions were laborers at last enabled to enjoy rest and leisure to make life worth living; time for recreation, education and family life.

During the nineteenth century American trade unions diminished the length of the working day from twelve or fourteen hours to ten, nine, and

finally to eight hours. In 1867, the government reduced its working day from ten to eight hours.

This development has taken place in factories, building trades, mines and in practically all industrial establishments in the northern, central and western parts of the country. The Southern states which have made rapid progress in manufacturing, especially of cotton, have not as a rule responded to the demand for a shorter working day, not having effective labor organizations to compel the necessary legislation.

If trade unionism had rendered no other service to humanity, it would have justified its existence by its efforts in behalf of women and children. The chief effort of the trade unions in ameliorating the hardship of women's work has been in the direction of excluding them from certain kinds of employment, in improving the sanitary conditions in which they work, and in reducing the length of their working day. Thus women are no longer employed in mines, nor are they allowed to be employed in trades which injure their health or seriously jeopardize their moral safety. The women themselves are rapidly joining unions already formed, and are also organizing into separate bodies.

An interesting phase of this movement and of the changing attitude of women toward unions is revealed by the action of the Chicago Federation of Teachers. The teachers of Chicago, recognizing that they were wage earners and realizing the similarity of their aims and ideals with those of the great body of trade unionists, threw their fortunes in with their fellow workers and became affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. This action was the forerunner of a general movement of school teachers in all sections of the United States to the ranks of organized labor. The influence for good which has already resulted and which may yet result from this bond between the working people and the teachers of their children can not be overestimated. The teachers are undergoing a change in viewpoint. They are fast getting over the delusion that they are too cultured to join the ranks of labor. This idea is well illustrated in the report of Miss Alice Deal, President of the High School Teachers' Union of Washington, D. C., upon her impressions of the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Buffalo. Miss Deal says, in part:

"In conclusion, the surprising fact of the convention was the conviction, gradually developed there, because it was far from my thoughts at the beginning, that altho the teachers will and must contribute much to organized labor, they will receive more than they give—not only in mere material advantages, such as legislation, etc., but in the understanding of the masses, the realization of their innate nobility and fineness of character, the broadening of our viewpoint, the deepening of our sympathies, and a firmer grip upon the realities of life."

Even more important than the benefits conferred by trade unionism upon workers have been its efforts in behalf of the toiling children. Largely thru the influence of trade unionism and thru the gradual awakening of an enlightened sentiment on the part of the public the evils of child labor both in England and the United States have been somewhat ameliorated. These efforts have been directed largely toward the passage of legislation restricting the vileness of this worst of all forms of human exploitation. The legislation has usually taken the form of compulsory education laws, laws prohibiting employment before a certain age, limiting hours of employment above that age, obtaining proper working conditions for children during hours of employment, and excluding children from dangerous and unhealthful occupations. There is still, however, much that may be done along that line, especially in the way of enforcing laws already made and in increasing the age for compulsory school attendance.

Further important work of the unions has been in demanding for the children of the laboring class an equal opportunity for advancement thru public education. To quote Professor Ely on the work of labor unions in behalf of education: "The efforts of the early friends of labor were largely directed to public schools as an educational agency and there can be no doubt that our public school system is in part a result of labor agitation. . . . At every period of our history public school questions have been labor questions or labor measures. And when I say this I do not exclude our universities. What then has the labor movement brought us? I reply first of all: it has been one of the chief causes which have brought us a public school system. Where shall we find guardians against assaults on our public schools? Where shall we find those who

will not only protect what we have, but help us forward in new achievements in education, particularly by means of public schools? To both questions I reply, in our labor organizations. All over the world labor organizations are supporting and bearing forward every popular educational movement."

Labor unions are beneficial in an educational way to those who belong to them. They are veritable schools of political science. Men meet in them and discuss questions of politics and economics in order to determine their bearing on the interest of the masses.

The desire for self-improvement is stimulated and leads to the study of the works of economists and publicists and to the reading of the best in literature. Many unions have spent large sums of money for libraries and the books selected are always of the best. A union meeting often becomes a sort of forum in which the members receive an excellent training in oratory, and learn to express their thoughts with dignity and clearness before an audience, while any literary talent which the members may possess finds opportunity for development in their papers and magazines. Altogether the social culture which laborers derive from their orderly gathering together is an excellent feature of the labor movement.

The history of trade unionism both in America and England has been a story of gradual increase in the wages of working men and women. In this evolution society has reached a stage where, in return for his day's toil, it has been found possible to give the workingman a wage upon which he may live with reasonable comfort and decency, and with which he may obtain the necessities and some of the pleasures of life. It is now possible for the worker to enjoy a comfortable home, and nourishing food. As his standard of living has increased so has his productivity and the American workman of today is a better workman, more industrious, more intelligent, and more efficient than his forefather of a hundred years ago. And further, as John Mitchell adds: "High wages mean more than industrial efficiency, more than the gratification of the reasonable desires of the working population. They contribute to the wealth and future of the nation, which are

not to be measured by its palaces and millionaires, but rather by the enlightened contentment and prosperity of its millions of workers, who constitute the bone and sinew of the land."

That the government is beginning to realize the truth of this is shown by the recent passage by a large majority, in the House of Representatives, of the "Nolan Minimum Wage Bill," a measure backed by the American Federation of Labor, giving a minimum wage of three dollars a day to every person in the employ of the government. The measure has been sent to the Senate, where it is now awaiting action by that body.

Let us next examine the benevolent features of the unions. During the ten years from 1903 to 1913 the trade unions of Great Britain spent twenty million dollars of their funds in relieving the distress caused by unemployment. In 1912 six unions in our own country had expended out-of-work benefits to the amount of \$215,398. Death benefits for the four years from 1908 to 1911 in those unions in America reporting, amounted to \$5,235,400, and sick benefits for the period from 1908 to 1912, in the same unions were \$4,510,000. Besides these, some unions pay old-age pensions, maintain homes for the aged and infirm and carry on other humane activities among their members. The mutual help of the trade unionists is promoted on such an enormous scale that it stands out as one of the great functions of the unions.

There are many beneficial and remedial purposes of the unions which have not been touched upon, but which should at least be mentioned, since their development has been of great importance to the workers. There are numerous forms of insurance, varying with the varying needs of a trade or community, beside those mentioned above. There are employment agencies conducted by the unions whose function is of inestimable benefit in placing and keeping their members at work. Factory legislation inspired by the unions has resulted in better sanitary conditions in the factories; in statutes requiring protection of machinery, belts, wells, and elevators by guards placed about them; in laws providing for fire-escapes, and other adequate means of escape in case of fire or accident, and for rigid inspection of

factories. In several European countries, as well as in some states in our own country, workmen's compensation laws have been passed, holding the employer liable for injury to employees.

The task which trade unions have accomplished in securing and enforcing laws regulating immigration has been hardly more important than their excellent work in raising the tone and increasing the efficiency of the immigrant upon his arrival. More than any other single factor, except the public school, the trade union has succeeded in wiping out racial animosities, and in infusing into the newly landed immigrant American ideals and American aspirations.

Slowly but surely the unions have been recognized, commended and encouraged by the churches of all denominations in America. At a convention of Catholic Societies in 1911, resolutions endorsing unionism and its objects were adopted. The Congregational Brotherhood of America has published a leaflet setting forth the purposes of trade unionism and even upholding the strike. The Presbyterian Church has a department of Church and Labor, which gives full recognition to trade union work. The Episcopal Church has an Association for the Advancement of Labor, formed in 1887, working to bring together church members and trade unionists for promoting the purposes of the unions. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in

America adopted a general statement of its attitude toward social and industrial questions, ending with the following words, "To the toilers of America, and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this council sends the greeting of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ." Thruout our country on Labor Sunday from almost every pulpit a labor sermon is preached, showing that the church is today on the side of union labor, and why, we may ask, should the church not take up the cause of a movement whose motto is "They helped every one his neighbor, and everyone said to his brother, 'Be of good cheer' "?

Thorold Rogers, in his "Work and Wages" says of trades unions: "A long study of the history of labor has convinced me that trades unions are not only the best friends of the workmen, but the best agency for the employer and the public; and that to the extension of these associations, political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some of the most pressing and the most difficult problems of our own time," and I think that a large majority of our liberty loving people now agree with him.

Democracy in Academe

EX-ACADEMICUS

IN a recently published statement, A. E. Shipley, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who has toured this country as a member of the British Universities' Mission, has made two criticisms of the American educational system. "One is that with rare exceptions the teachers of America are inadequately paid. . . . Secondly, the professoriate is very inadequately represented, if at all, on the boards of trustees."

Poverty and Powerlessness—these are and ever have been breeders of rebellion. Tho they have not appeared as yet in an extreme form among the teachers of colleges and universities, the academic

atmosphere is already strangely troubled. Slowly the college teacher's conception of himself as a consecrated votary of the arts and sciences is being tinged with a gross materialism and he is becoming increasingly conscious of himself in the capacity of a mere breadwinner. Slowly, too, his satisfaction with the dignity of his profession as the moulder of the minds of the morrow is being corroded by the sense that he is being permitted to do the modelling only along lines laid down by the moneyed interests represented on the board of trustees. He is beginning to see that the hire-and-fire policy obtains almost as effectively in factories of culture as in fac-

tories of cutlery, and that if there is any difference in wages, so far as the lower ranks are concerned, that difference is in favor of the producers of cutlery.

The result of such a state of affairs is easily predictable, if indeed it is not already manifest. Only fools, Chautauqua lecturers, and young men of means will go into teaching. Fools can afford it because they can make no more as factory operatives; Chautauqua lecturers can afford it because a good platform presence and a faculty for popularization may still win a speedy professorship; young men of means may still prefer teaching to the law or the pulpit or the press either because of natural bent and talent or because of the longer vacations. But it may be confidently affirmed that if things remain as they are, men of ability, who are neither share-holders nor spell-binders will shun the teaching profession for the simple reason that they will scarcely be able to support a wife, let alone a family, even at the close of their careers.

Now while groanings and mutterings are frequently heard from the mouths of professors and instructors, little do we hear from either concerning a remedy. It seems that while profs may come and profs may go, yet the system is to go on forever. To be sure, it may be urged that the American Association of College Professors has come into existence and that in some of the most flagrant cases of injustice it has investigated and issued a report. That any of these reports have issued in remedial action, I have yet to hear. The trouble may be with my hearing: but I know of one case where a quarrel between trustees and faculty has resulted in the gradual squeezing out during a period of more than two years of half the teaching force of the college, among them men of the highest distinction; nevertheless, the report on the original trouble has not yet appeared. Unless the Association of College Professors adopts a more determined policy, it will hardly conquer for the profession its freedom.

In the matter of the advancement of salaries, even less is being done. I have read a pathetic appeal from the teachers of a famous college to their alumni for—I hesitate to say charity. The circular vehemently denied that it appealed for charity. None the less the tone was not that of one man stepping up to another and asking him to settle accounts. It sounded too much like the old story—"sick wife, children

unable to go to school, not a cent to pay the grocer's bill"—that we know only too well. To save the indigent professor's self-respect the denial was made; but it was an appeal for charity just the same. Yet all that was expected at the most was enough to save the professor's wife from doing the laundry and to send his children to college. Nothing more. And as for the more numerous class of instructors who had been foolish enough to spend three years of graduate work to qualify themselves for \$1,000 a year until such time as the man higher up showed a kindly consideration for them and died, there was not even a mention of them.

Are teachers then to accept the situation? Are they to comfort themselves with the text that, "The meek shall inherit the earth," trusting that in some mysterious sense acquiescence in injustice may win the approbation and the regard of the Almighty? Are they to read David Grayson's works and embrace celibacy or reconcile themselves to a life of household drudgery for their wives and to their children's selling bars of chocolate to the students on the street-corner? Or are they to marry money?

There seems to be no alternative to these, except to fight—organize and fight. Individually nothing can be done. Solitary protestants can be removed quietly, promptly, and forever from the academic world and the gates closed against them. Only organized force can effectually deal with scabbing. Only an organized democracy can depose an oligarchy. To be too proud to fight in such a cause is to be too proud to fight for the freedom of the profession and to assent to the economic strangulation of its dignity.

There is already in the field the American Federation of Teachers, a society affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Ah, but there's the rub. There is in this professedly democratic country an undemocratic sentiment which shrinks from association with men in overalls. There is moreover a quite genuine feeling of condemnation toward the unions, sedulously fostered by interested parties, which holds up to execration the encouragement and protection afforded by the unions to idleness and scamped work. Much of this may well be granted and the day must come when a union member must fulfill faithfully his end of the bargain or lose his card. But the horror of these sincere and well

meaning critics becomes simply ridiculous when we observe that all their indignation is vented upon those who get for four hours' work a wage of five dollars, and none is reserved for those who have secured for themselves positions of privilege in which they do not work at all and yet receive a hundred or two a day.

If one is to froth at the mouth over unearned incomes, by all means let us not waste our wrath over the insignificant offences but over the great. The trades unionist is no angel, but if he tries to get away with something for nothing, let us remember the shining examples of leading citizens he frequently has before him.

And yet even when the worst has been urged against the unionist, our houses do get built, our railroads do run, our mines do pour forth coal and metal, our automobiles do evolve. It must be that when his critics are not looking, the union laborer does get in some work, and work that his academic critics are thoroly glad they can pass on to him. "Two men I honor and no third" Carlyle declares. "First, the toil-worn Craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth and makes her man's . . . A second man I honor and still more highly: him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread but the bread of life." It is only fair to Carlyle to say that in his fervor a third hero, to whom elsewhere he gives due veneration, has for the moment slipped his mind—he who adjusts the relationships of men, industrial and social, and coordinates their efforts to worthy ends. None but fools grudge to honest captains of industry and to statesmen in all spheres their share of honor: tho by their frequent arrogation to themselves of all the tangible evidences of honor and by the hollowness of their allusions to the "Dignity of Labor" and the "Splendor of Learning" they sometimes incline the manual worker and the scholar to do so.

If then all these three types of laborers are deserving of honor, what can withhold that privileged type whose labor is a joy in the exercise of reason or in the contemplation of beauty or in the pursuit of truth from sympathy with his unlucky brother whose labor is in large measure a dull routine, if not an arduous struggle with pain and weariness. Who is

the teacher that he should be spared almost altogether from the ancient curse, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread?" The least he can do is not despite the inheritor of Nature's curse. The best he can do is to make common cause with him against such administrators as feel no accountability for the exercise of their power and take to themselves rather more of their share of the product, and against the parasites, who without productive effort or even any effort at all, live in luxury off the backs of all three classes of honorable labor.

What then is to become of all this agitation among the teachers? Some of them doubtless will find the curb too tight and the fodder too scant, and will seek freedom and a living wage in other fields. Others will succumb to the gospel of content, eke out an existence on the savings of celibacy or on the proceeds of a truck garden and a few hens, and bequeath to the next generation a worse inheritance than their own. Others there will be who will splutter and rave and do nothing. The future of teaching lies with those who, in looking after their own interests, are also looking after the interests of the profession and of the public. They will organize and use every fair means to see that the teacher gets from the very start an income that will enable him to marry, to satisfy all his necessities and some of his tastes, that will leave his wife enough leisure and strength after her work to make her an intellectual companion, and that in course of time, if he does not prove a failure, will let him send his children well equipped into the world. Finally, they will use every fair means to see that the teacher is not made a pander to the interests of big business and unearned wealth.

THE MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW

Many locals are looking for literature for use in obtaining data to start and carry on campaigns for salary increases. The Monthly Labor Review, is excellent not only in itself, but also because of the comprehensive references to statistical and other pertinent literature it always contains. This is especially true of the September and October issues. The address is Royal Meeker, Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D C

The Teacher's Share of the Nation's Income

HERBERT MILLER*

ON MY recent return from an Eastern trip, my breakfast table companion was a fine looking young sailor.

"How long were you in the Service?"

"Two years."

"In what vessels?"

"A battleship and a troopship."

"What work in the troop ship?"

"A fireman."

"And now?"

"I am going to be discharged at Great Lakes."

"And afterwards?"

"I shall go back to my old trade, a pattern-maker."

"What are the wages of a pattern-maker?"

"A dollar and a quarter an hour."

I did a bit of arithmetic; at eight hours, ten dollars per day; three hundred days, three thousand dollars per year. I had never received as much in my forty-five years of teaching; and this youngster of twenty-five had only a common school education.

All the economic storms of today center upon this question: What share of the nation's income ought each worker to receive? An answer to which most fair minded men will agree is: Such a share as is equivalent to the value of the work of each. But when the question is asked, as to who shall determine the value of such work, there comes the wide divergence of opinion between employer and employee which keeps the economic world in its continuous earthquake. If a fair judge could be found for this question whose decision would be accepted by both parties, the earth would have a real peace.

In the early history of nations the greater part of each nation's income went to the Monarch, his

warriors, and the priesthood, because the first two defended the nation from its earthly enemies, and the last from its heavenly ones. As a middle class developed, it obtained an increasing share of annual income. When slavery and serfdom disappeared a wage class began to get something more than a bare sustenance. As the intelligence of the laborer grew, his share grew greater, and that in proportion to his organization for self-protection and advancement. We now live in an age of group organization of both employers and employees. The best organized group gets the largest shares of the national income. It is needless to say that the employers are better organized than the employees. Some groups of employees are also better organized than others; for example, the pattern-makers; therefore, their share is much better than that of the teachers who are just beginning to organize.

Wages are decided today by individual and group bargaining, by arbitration, by sharing of profits, etc. The wage of the public school teacher has always been decided by the state thru boards of education, and almost without exception at the lowest figures obtainable; for, contrary to the general belief on the part of the State, the State is a hard master to the teachers. The average income of the teacher reveals that.

The State wants education for its children. It must have it if the State is to endure, for that is the foundation of the State. But the State will pay no high price for this absolutely indispensable article unless it is compelled to do so by those who can furnish it to the State, for the State of course is composed of average men and women who wish to get all they buy, even education, at the cheapest price possible.

Organization alone with organized representation to the State of the value of their work can obtain for teachers an income even approximately equivalent to that value. But it can secure a decent income and nothing else can. It may be said almost without contradiction that no group of workers is doing more valuable work for the nation than the teachers, and should not their compensation then be in proportion

*Mr. Miller in 1911 organized the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, the second oldest teachers' union in the country. He represented that union for several years as delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, the labor body that has a record of fifteen years of fighting for the welfare of teachers. As part of Mr. Miller's long service as a teacher, he was a member of the Chicago Teachers' Pension and Retirement Fund for many years. The American Teacher is glad to offer this statement in honor of one of the best liked and among the ablest of the union workers in Chicago, now retired.—Editor.

to the value of that work? They must however, become a compact body if they wish to impress this fact upon a somewhat deaf-eared community. The Nation respects intelligence, but above all, organized intelligence.

As to a teacher's first duty being to the State, and, as some would have it, almost one's whole duty, Herbert Spencer maintains in his *Principles of*

Ethics that one's first duty is to one's self, second to one's family and third to the rest of the world in varying relations. As an employee the teacher has a great duty of whole-souled intelligent work; but the State has an equivalent duty of maintaining the rights and welfare of the teacher.

Is not the teacher worth as much as the pattern-maker?

The December Message

F G STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers

THE American Federation of Teachers became an international union November 7th, 1919. On that day charter No. 130 was issued to the L'Association du Bien-Etre des Instituteurs et des Institutrices de Montreal. Their president, Mr. N. Eudore Gobeil, 732 St. Denis, Montreal, was assured that their affiliation was especially welcome as presenting a great opportunity to bring the teachers of the two countries into much closer relationship and the hope was expressed that organization will advance among Canadian teachers whom organized labor of Canada is very anxious to see organized. Mr. Gobeil, in behalf of his local, wrote: "We reciprocate your good wishes and hope to co-operate with you in furthering the aspirations of all teachers, both American and Canadian. Your ideas regarding the noble work accomplished by teachers, their influence upon the rising generation, and the training and preparing of youth for the struggle of life, which have not been fully appreciated in the past, are better received and more understood in our day, and this excellent result has been obtained by that grand organization, the American Federation of Teachers. Our most cordial congratulations to your Federation for the good work it has already accomplished on behalf of teachers."

The Hawaii Teachers Union is a small but enthusiastic group beginning with a spirit which means growth in numbers and influence. Unfortunately they have the opposition of the papers controlled by the plantation owners, but these pioneers understand the meaning and purposes of our organization too thoroughly to be defeated. On page 218 of this

issue is printed an extract from an address made by Mrs. Estelle Baker, Secretary of Local No. 116.

It would be easy to edit a daily bulletin by merely quoting from reports and letters which show that the teachers are at work in all our widely-scattered locals to bring about the improvements and constructive work required by the conditions in the various communities. It is difficult to select a few of these reports without seeming to ignore many others.

This comes from Denison, Texas: "Our recent tax election of twenty-five cents for school purposes carried only three to one. The Board has made a general increase of 37 per cent in salaries over last year. This increase is retroactive to the beginning of this session, Sept. 15, 1919. We teachers are delighted. We really believe the entire credit should be given to our organization. Teachers over the country must learn that they and they alone must fight their own battles. Labor supported us to a man. Had many men out working for the election."

This is being written December 6th, the first anniversary of Madison Teachers Federation No. 35. The Peoria men had been chartered the previous day. One hundred locals have been chartered in the year. While the growth the past two months has not been quite what had been expected, there is reason to feel deep satisfaction at the progress made when the conditions thruout the country are taken into consideration. The high degree of organization perfected by a large number of the locals gives an indication of the new spirit which is arising among the teachers of this country. They

are beginning to grasp the great opportunities awaiting the teachers to render service to themselves and to the schools and to the communities with which they are so closely related. This is well illustrated by a letter from the president of the Houston Teachers Association. "Houston, Texas, carried an election today of \$0.50 on \$100 for schools. This election was 'put over' by the Teachers Association and makes it possible to increase the salaries of the teachers. We have been promised \$800 minimum and \$1,500 maximum for elementary teachers. Mr. Horn, our Superintendent, was very anxious for this special school fund and he worked with us to the last."

A long list can be cited of superintendents and boards of education who are welcoming effective organization of teachers because much can be accomplish thru their influence and idealism which the best intentioned superintendents and boards of education have not always been able to accomplish when the teachers take no part.

The Memphis Teachers Association assisted the Board of Education in securing financial relief for the schools at the last session of the Tennessee legislature. The Chicago locals did the same thing. Just as a large number of business men and employers find it much better to deal with organized groups thru their recognized representatives, and save time and ill will in dealing with individuals, so superintendents and boards of education are manifesting the same new spirit. The Chicago Board of Education has a fixed policy of calling for presidents and representatives of the various organizations and groups of teachers whose problems are under consideration. This spirit of cooperation and attainment of better results for the schools is one that should be fostered wherever possible.

But there is the reverse side. If the city of New Orleans, so much advertised as a progressive city to which outside capital is invited, there seems to be little interest in the schools and their conditions apparently go from bad to worse. It will require more than advertising to attract capital other than for the crudest industries when the educational conditions become known. Last March the Associate Teachers League No. 36 formulated a communication to the Board of Education which presented

their arguments for increase of salary, removal of inequities in salary and changes in the pension system. This was endorsed by the Committee on Education of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly. The result was a printed 8-page report of the Committee on Teachers and Instruction of the Orleans Parish School Board. It is a model of the spirit in the management of our educational systems which is slowly but surely bringing ruin. Perhaps the kindest criticism which could be made of that report is that its wide circulation would go far to nullify the effects of the advertising which that city is conducting. A tone of dignity would have been added if the teachers had not been accused repeatedly of bad faith and lack of fairness. Accusations of unfamiliarity "with the scientific principles governing or controlling, or underlying the operation and conduct of a Retirement or "Pension Fund" do not form an argument that the teachers should have no voice in the kind of pension system they are to have, its management or the amount of money involved. That one may have no opinions on any matter in which he is not an expert, which was the recommendation in regard to the pension system, is a very dangerous doctrine. It would be very hard on those individuals who are not experts on pensions or any other subject. A council of teachers was denied. "We discern no reason or justification for creation of the council of fifteen teachers suggested by the Associate Teachers League No. 36. Under the law the direction, management and operation of public schools of this City are entrusted to this Board, the members of which are elected by the people; the responsibility and duty are theirs; they have no right, or for that matter, any disposition, to evade or shift either." Brave words! Do they infer that the teachers were seeking to establish a rival dynasty? Or do they mean that teachers are not experts in their own line and should not be occasionally consulted as such? "This Board has always willingly and courteously received, and even welcomed, suggestions from any source, but more particularly from the teachers. To form the council would be creating a special class of teachers separate and apart from all the others and would tend to discourage those pleasant and personal relations between the Board and the great mass of the teach-

ers which have heretofore existed." No doubt these words are sincere but they smatter of the pleasant relations between master and slave, at the end of eight pages of peevish reply to 400 teachers.—The report of the Committee was adopted by the Board of Education June 27, 1919. The President has later stated that no salary relief can come before September, 1920. More than 150 teachers resigned in the summer. Many took leave of absence. The Normal Class is reduced to a minimum. High school girls are said to be employed and in October some rooms could not yet be opened. Teachers are leaving each month. Of course the schools are suffering. But the Board has maintained its independence from organized teachers and labor. Apparently they do not worry about public opinion in New Orleans.

Let it be said in praise of the spirit of New Orleans local that it is working on with courage and loyalty to the schools. In spite of poor prospects the membership is being increased and activities planned for better success in the future. Members of other locals who have been impatient because they did not get all that was demanded should stop to consider what they would do in the position of the New Orleans teachers.

Lest any reader feel that New Orleans is being unfairly singled out it should be said that this case is merely one of many where cooperation by the best-intentioned is impossible. A High School delegation in a New Jersey city, calling upon the Superintendent in regard to the salary schedule on which he was working, were informed politely that it was none of their business, and that their suggestions if desired would be called for. Clearly cooperation in that city is not to be easily established. And yet the Governor of that state being apparently more interested in education than the Superintendent referred to, has called attention to the serious conditions in education, according to newspaper reports, and expresses fear that the educational system may become demoralized and broken down from underpayment of teachers. He may well say: "If our children are to be taught by incompetent teachers or not taught at all, the end of American Democracy, as we know it, is in sight."

Fortunately, the plan of a state federation of teachers is being considered by the New Jersey locals. The cooperation of these locals in adding to the American Federation of Teachers such groups of teachers in that state as wish to aid in educational reconstruction has great possibilities. Teachers who remain passive in these days surely fail to see the seriousness of the situation or their responsibilities in holding a position of public trust.

It would be unfair to leave the impression that such educational conditions are peculiarities of New Orleans or New Jersey. Every state and city has its problems. It would also be unfair to leave the impression that the Boards of Education and Superintendents are generally shortsighted and jealous of authority. A new generation of school officials is appearing. The most hopeful sign of educational relief is in the new type who believe in cooperation of all who are concerned with these schools. Administrative responsibilities must be definite but they assume these without the autocratic attitude which is so destructive in education.

TEACHERS' COUNCILS

School systems have been slow to organize themselves on a democratic plan. Boards of education and superintendents have for the most part failed to see the importance of taking teachers into the government of schools. Now the omissions of the past are leading to forms of organization in which teachers are asserting their rights and demanding a voice in the management of affairs. The spirit of these demands is not always wholesome. There is in some of the teachers' organizations a lack of feeling of responsibility which is easy to understand but which will have to be overcome if teachers' participation in school government is to be productive of good to the schools. It will not do for the teachers to make demands of the government and at the same time ask to become part of the government unless they are prepared to face its problems with wisdom and with a willingness to abide by practical adjustments.

Is it not time for schools to adopt the policy of trusting teachers with larger responsibilities and of demanding of them more intelligent and carefully considered solutions of school problems? Teachers have a right to ask for higher salaries, but they must become students of public taxation. Teachers want permanence of tenure. They must study the effects of such tenure on efficiency and must provide adequate guarantees of efficiency when the lash of possible dismissal has been dropped.—From *The Elementary School Journal* (Chicago) of September, 1919.

There is but one objection to make. When we have democracy no one will "demand" of teachers "more intelligent and carefully considered solutions of school problems." We expect to see that need and work it out free from compulsion.

EDITOR, THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

FROM LOCAL NO 5

(The Teachers Union of New York)

Since the last report we have made definite progress in its campaign for the designation by the Mayor of a labor representative to the next vacancy on the Board of Education. The central labor body has given its approval to the plan and has instructed affiliated locals to request the Mayor that he grant labor due recognition in the educational administration.

The union has come out with a bill which will amend the Salary Law enacted last year, so as to make the increases provided therein 100 per cent effective at once. The law as it now stands has a "spreading" clause, whereby the increases become effective in three equal annual instalments. The union feels that the increases are none too great at best, and that the "spreading" clause nullifies even the slight measures of relief which the law was intended to give. It is also significant that from all indications the Board of Education seems inclined to make this obnoxious clause effective in the case of the normal annual increment to which the teacher was entitled by virtue of length of service before the Salary Law was passed. The Union intends to combat this interpretation, an interpretation which is clearly contrary to the intent of the law. We are beginning to learn that to succeed in securing the enactment of a law is not the signal for relaxation, so long as the interpretation of it is in the hands of those who were openly indifferent to the law and perhaps secretly hostile to it.

The Associated Teachers Union, the Vocational Teachers Council, the Teachers Union and the Librarians Union have authorized tentatively the formation of a joint body, to be known as the Unions' Education Council, in which these locals are to have representation. The chief purpose of this Council will be to act in an advisory capacity to the various labor educational efforts in the City.

As a consequence of repeated and insistent demands by our Union that the Board of Education

look into certain unfair and unprofessional tactics employed by Supt. John L. Tildsley in his "heresy" hunt, the Board has requested the Union to present formal charges against him. The Union responded quite heartily to this invitation, and is now preparing the charges.

JOSEPH JABLONOWER,
Organizer, Local No 5

FROM LOCAL NO 16

(The Grade Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.)

One of the progressive lines of work in which the Grade Teachers of Washington, D. C., have taken a very active part has been the establishment of a Trade Union College. The aim as set forth in the democratic constitution which governs the College is "to provide educational opportunities for those who work for a livelihood where the instructors will be specialists in their subjects and the instruction will be liberal and from the point of view of the worker.

At a largely attended opening meeting held Nov. 2nd, the work of the winter term was outlined by members of the Faculty and addresses made by prominent speakers, some of the latter having international fame, were attending the Industrial Conference called by the President. The speakers told of the great success of similar colleges in their countries and cities. We have been very fortunate in being able to interest some of the very able economists and specialists stationed here in Washington and to enroll them as members of the Faculty.

We hold two-hour classes, one hour for lecture and the following hour for discussion, and as new classes are desired they will be added to the curriculum. The secretary and registrar of the College, Miss Mary Dent of the Grade Teachers Union, was a very busy woman right from the start, and it has been found necessary to have more classrooms to provide for those who wish to avail themselves of this great opportunity at a very moderate cost. The courses are open to all trade unionists and their families and the College is "directly under the aus-

pices and control of the trade unions of Washington and vicinity."

More than twenty trade union bodies have already subscribed to the movement and others are daily joining the ranks.

Classes in English and industrial hygiene meet on Monday evenings, under instruction respectively of Mrs. Inkster of the Central High School and O. S. Beyer, formerly of University of Illinois; Tuesday evenings there are classes in modern literature under instruction of Stuart Chase of the Federal Trade Commission, and in history of the labor movement by Dr. John O'Grady of Catholic University; Wednesday evening, law under Frederick de Sloovere of Catholic University and industrial development under Harvey Chase of the Council of National Defense; Thursday evenings, economics, under Dr. Abraham Bergland, of the Tariff Commission, and Samuel W. Tator of the Federal Trade Commission; also on Thursday political science under W. Jett Lauck, formerly secretary of the National War Labor Board. Friday evenings, law, under Jackson H. Ralston, and current labor questions under John Grey of the University of Minnesota, Dr. John A. Ryan of Catholic University, Paul Brissenden of the Department of Labor; Liefur Magnusson and Carl Hookstadt also of the Department of Labor.

Three grade teachers are on the committee on education, and the executive committee of our Local extended the use of our office to the College until it moved into its present commodious quarters. Its rapid growth demonstrates the need of just such an organization. Those of us who attended the at times solemn sessions of the various industrial conferences held here have over and over felt the growing necessity of studying very carefully and under expert guidance as many as possible of the various phases of the vital economic questions now facing our country.

Often the only source of information available to most of us is the press too frequently controlled by the advertisers in its columns upon whom it is largely and often entirely, dependent for maintenance. We as teachers feel the necessity of approaching all vital questions from the student's viewpoint and here in Washington we are particularly fortunate in having been able to interest the

many specialists and able men who compose our Faculty, to help us come to intelligent unprejudiced conclusions on the many serious problems which confront us as good American citizens.

The fact that the heaviest enrollment was for the course offered in English indicates that this department will fill another real demand in our community. The course as outlined will teach students "how to write and speak correctly. Theory and practice of composition and argumentation. Public speaking."

The success of this Trade Union College here in Washington is very gratifying to the members of our local who have worked hard for it since the inception of the idea.

The statement that teachers organize for purely selfish reasons is certainly refuted right here. In conclusion may I quote the aim of the Grade Teachers Union of Washington as stated in our constitution?

"To obtain for teachers all the rights and benefits to which they are entitled, to raise the standard of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service and to cooperate with movements for civic and economic progress."

ELIZABETH HAYDEN.

FROM LOCAL NO 28

(The St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers)

In June, 1918, St. Paul women classroom teachers formed a new organization and affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. The new local at once seated its ten delegates in the Trades and Labor Assembly of the city and whenever opportunity offered, each delegate eagerly took her share of responsibility in committee work as the quickest way of getting in touch with the local labor situation. As a consequence of the activity of the teachers, a standing educational committee was formed in the Trades and Labor Assembly thru which much of the constructive work outlined below for the schools was brought about.

For twenty years previous to this, the grade teachers of the city had a strong organization, tho not affiliated with labor, which had served most satisfactorily all purposes, under existing conditions.

From time to time the teachers in this group had found it necessary to appeal to various civic and business organizations for the support of measures for the good of the schools. This appeal met with a consistent spirit of apathy. An adverse school administration sent the teachers to the only group which had shown any interest in the schools and the welfare of the teachers. Consequently Local 28 was formed.

Labor men needed no enlightenment on a situation such as existed in the schools at that time. Thru experience they knew the results of such measures as petty persecution, discrimination, intimidation, coercion, attempts to create dissension among the teaching body and individual bargaining which made the published salary schedule a farce. This serious condition made a two-fold appeal to the men of the labor group. They resented the treatment that had been inflicted on the teachers and were deeply concerned for the welfare of the children which was being jeopardized by the disruption of the schools. *These conditions no longer exist.*

However, in the spirit of fairmindedness they studied the situation for some months that a constructive program might be outlined which would remedy evils and build for the future welfare of the schools. In March, 1919, The Trades and Labor Assembly went as a Committee of the Whole to a specially arranged evening meeting of the City Council where school needs, teaching conditions and teachers' salaries were discussed with great frankness. It might be well to say that St. Paul teachers had had no increase in salary since 1913, nor had they had bonuses of any kind during the period of the war to meet the increased cost of living. At this meeting labor outlined its educational program in definite terms. It was stated that the labor movement of the city was willing to "go down the line" with any other group which would bring about a relief for the teachers in the matter of increased salaries. This necessitated a change in the city charter to be submitted to the vote of the people at a special election, since school expenditure was limited and the full amount had been exhausted. Out of the wisdom of its constructive policy, labor was able to

draw into harmonious relationships all groups of the city, who became fully awake to the need of such an amendment, and cooperated with labor in its program. The Charter Amendment carried with a tremendous majority.

Let no one think that the teachers did not do their share of the work. Both teachers' locals took active part in the campaign. Talks were given at all union meetings, at the movie theatres and at the various clubs. The teachers were credited with the best bit of campaigning for a civic measure ever used in St. Paul. There was a Tag Day, for which all teachers in the city enlisted. Voters were tagged with a "VOTE YES" and store windows and all possible places were posted with "VOTE YES" placards.

For the entire school year the teachers' salary committee had been at work gathering data and getting facts. Before the close of school in June this committee waited upon the Commissioner of Education and the Superintendent of Schools, and brought to their attention among other matters great discrepancies in salaries, together with an adjustment plan to remedy them.

The success of the charter amendment placed at the disposal of the Department of Education a large increase in tax money and provided sufficient funds for ample salary increases for all the teachers. During the summer, the joint salary committee of the teachers' locals, advised and counseled by the labor men, held frequent conferences with the Commissioner of Education and the Superintendent of Schools in an attempt to bring about an adjusted salary schedule.

The initial cost to the city of the suggested program amounted to \$510,000. Added to this were other plans for improvement in the schools which brought the total estimated increase in the Budget to \$810,000. This went considerably beyond the amount which the Commissioner was willing to place in the Budget. Again a special meeting with the City Council was arranged at which the Superintendent of Schools spoke for a less expensive plan. In behalf of the teachers' proposed salary adjustment schedule, speakers appeared from various civic and business organizations which had supported the Charter Amendment. The St. Paul

Trades and Labor Assembly was represented by its president, Mr. William Mahoney. The Council members looked favorably upon the plan proposed by the teachers and voted to accept the responsibility of the added expense to the city.

The salary adjustment plan became effective Sept., 1919. For purposes of comparison it may be well to state that the former maximum for High Schools was \$1,600, for grades \$1,000, while the minimum for High Schools was \$850 and Grades \$600. The adjustment of the salary schedule brings nearly a 50 per cent increase in salary to the teachers.

1919-1920 ADJUSTMENT OF SALARIES FOR ST. PAUL TEACHERS.

All Regular Grade Teachers and Kindergarten Directresses

Experience	Salary
13th year	\$1,500
12th year	1,450
11th year	1,400
10th year	1,350
9th year	1,300
8th year	1,250
7th year	1,200
6th year	1,150
5th year	1,100
4th year	1,050
3rd year	1,000

All Regular Kindergarten Assistants.

Experience	Salary
10th year	\$1,200
9th year	1,150
8th year	1,100
7th year	1,050
6th year	1,000
5th year	950
4th year	900
3rd year	850

All Regular High School Teachers. (Including High School Manual Training Teachers.)

Experience	Salary
15th year	\$2,100
14th year	2,050
13th year	2,000
12th year	1,950
11th year	1,900
10th year	1,850
9th year	1,800
8th year	1,750
7th year	1,700
6th year	1,650
5th year	1,600
4th year	1,550
3rd year	1,500

All Grade Manual Training Teachers

Experience	Salary
7th year	\$1,600
6th year	1,550
5th year	1,500
4th year	1,450
3rd year	1,400
2nd year	1,350
1st year	1,300

The citizens of St. Paul are to be congratulated upon the step forward which they have taken. With adequate funds for school buildings, school equipment, and with a salary schedule equal to that of any city of its size, it will be able to offer inducements to teachers, to hold desirable teachers, and thus maintain stability in the school system. The future promises much for the schools of this city.

Chairman Press Committee, Local No 28

FROM LOCAL NO 71

(The Associated Teachers Union, New York City)

OUR union has a varied membership. It accepts all members of the teaching profession who are not eligible to Teachers Union No 5 and Vocational Teachers Council No 24; that is, all who are not public school teachers. It takes in, therefore, the teachers in private schools, and the principals of public schools, as well as the teaching staffs of New York's universities and colleges: Columbia University, New York University, the College of the City of New York, Cornell Medical School, and a half-dozen others.

Our list of prospective members now totals about 3,400 names; of these 1,100 are of public school principals and assistants, and 1,300 are from Columbia University.

The variety in our membership is seen in our first circular letter of invitation which was signed by 26 teachers representing 8 educational institutions, among them being Katherine Devereux Blake, Principal of Public School 6, Manhattan; Alfred N. Goldsmith, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering, College of the City of New York; Joseph Jablonower, Instructor in Mathematics, Ethical Culture School; Ellen Kennan, Teacher of Latin, Staten Island Academy; Wesley C. Mitchell, until recently Professor of Economics, Columbia University, now with the New School for Social Research; Harry A. Overstreet, Professor of Philosophy, College of the City of New York, and Harry F. Ward, Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary.

From the moment of its inception the Associated Teachers Union has been equally interested in two objects. These are, on the one hand, the profes-

sional: to improve the conditions of teachers, and of teaching, thru democratic administration, security of tenure, and better pay; and, on the other, the civic: to cooperate with organized labor in raising the standards and furthering the democratization of the industrial, social, and political life of the community.

We are affiliated of course with our State Federation of Labor, and we are beginning to take an active part in the work of the city-wide Central Federated Union. The latter is backing our efforts to have a progressive labor unionist appointed as a trustee of City College.

Of all our affiliations with labor bodies none, perhaps, is of greater interest to our members than that with the United Labor Education Committee, for here we may be of particular service. This committee is a federation of many unions, and its purpose is to provide its members with the educational opportunities which they desire. Its activities comprise not only regular evening courses in a variety of subjects, but it also arranges special lectures for members who are on strike (the time of strikers has hitherto been largely wasted); courses for union officials in economics and industrial management and production problems aimed to fit them for the new leadership in the labor movement; lectures, concerts, and dramatic productions.

To facilitate cooperation with this body, which is in fact a "trade union college," a Union Educational Council has been formed by delegates from the educational unions: the Teachers Union, the Vocational Teachers Council, the Associated Teachers Union, and the Librarians Union. To these we hope to add a Press Writers Union, and perhaps a Community Workers Union. We are offering our assistance in the organization of the latter two.

HERMAN DEFREM,
Provisional President.

FROM LOCAL NO 127

(Denver Public School Teachers Federation)

Our local had its inception about a year ago when I saw in "School and Society" a list of the charters that had been granted up to that time. At the January meeting of the High School Masters' Guild a resolution was introduced instructing

the Secretary to communicate with the American Federation of Teachers and learn what he could about the organization. At the May meeting of the Guild the Organization of Teachers was the topic for discussion. A committee was appointed to take up the matter of organization with the high school teachers of the city. The Constitution and other literature of the American Federation of Teachers was sent to all, and a meeting was called in June to discuss the question. At that meeting it was decided to postpone final action until fall. At a meeting held on October 3, 1919, the high school teachers voted two to one to form a Federation. A committee on organization was appointed. This committee reported a Constitution on October 10, which was adopted on October 28.

The Federation then elected officers as follows: Wm. C. Shute, President; E. Waite Elder, Secretary-Treasurer; Wm. Matin, Rosa Cohen, G. L. Watson, Bessie Hawthorn and Stella G. Chambers, Vice-Presidents.

We have 104 names on our roll now with several new applications for membership. As yet we have made very little effort to reach the grade teachers, but we shall soon be in a position to make a vigorous campaign for membership among them. Nearly half of the high school teachers of Denver are in the local.

E. WAITE ELDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

This is the Official Organ of the **American Federation of Teachers**

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

OFFICERS OF THE A F OF T

President: CHARLES B. STILLMAN, Chicago
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.
Secretary-Treasurer: F. G. STECKER, Chicago
1618 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.
National Organizer; First Vice-President:
L. V. LAMPSON, Washington, D. C.
1336 Otis Place, N. W.

Principles

H. WADE HIBBARD

Missouri University Teachers' Union, Columbia, Mo.

1. WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY AND IN THE SCHOOL AS ITS CHIEF PROMOTOR, AND THAT THEIR SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD DEPENDS UPON THE TEACHERS.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE SCHOOLS ARE TO PRODUCE FREE AMERICAN CITIZENS OF THE HIGHEST TYPE, FREE IN THOUGHT WORD AND ACTION, THE TEACHER HIMSELF MUST LIVE AND WORK IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM AND SELF-RESPECT.

THIS INVOLVES:

A. HIS DEEP SENSE OF LOYALTY TO THE *PROFESSION OF TEACHING*, AND TO HIS COLLEAGUES.

B. HIS BELIEF IN HIMSELF AS A CITIZEN, IDENTIFIED WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY; AND AS A SERVANT OF AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC ONLY, SIMILAR TO A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WHO, THO APPPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE, IS THEREAFTER UNDER THE DOMINATION OF NEITHER.

C. A COMPENSATION SUITED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS WORK, AND ENOUGH TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN MEN OF ABILITY.

D. A SECURE TENURE OF OFFICE.

E. FREEDOM OF TEACHING THE TRUTH AS HIS CONSCIENCE FINDS IT; ANY RARELY NEEDED CRITICISM OR CONTROL TO EMANATE FROM THE PROFESSION.

F. ADMINISTRATIVE (BUSINESS) FUNCTIONS UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL.

G. DETERMINATION AND CONTROL OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMS OF EDUCATION.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS FREEDOM IS AS ESSENTIAL IN THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS IN THE UNIVERSITIES. WE BELIEVE THAT IN ANY ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS, THE TEACHERS IN TAX-SUPPORTED UNIVERSITIES ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO SHARE, SINCE SUCH A UNIVERSITY IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, AND THE HEALTH OF EACH PART DEPENDS UPON THE HEALTH OF ALL THE OTHERS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IDENTITY OF INTERESTS EXTENDS TO NON-STATE UNIVERSITIES.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT DEMOCRACY IN TEACHING IS NATION-WIDE IN IMPORTANCE, AND THAT THE ONLY HOPE FOR SECURING IT LIES IN AN ORGANIZATION OF TEACHERS NATIONAL IN SCOPE, AND ALREADY NATIONAL IN STRENGTH.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT INSTRUCTION MUST BE INDEPENDENT AND NON-PARTISAN, FREE FROM PRESSURE BY UNDEMOCRATIC INFLUENCES. WE BELIEVE AN ORGANIZATION OF TEACHERS ALONE IS INADEQUATE TO RESIST SUCH PRESSURE, AND THAT IT MUST TURN FOR COOPERATION AND HELP TO ANY OR ALL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE IN SYMPATHY WITH THE ABOVE IDEALS, AND ESPECIALLY TO ANY ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN CREATED IN PART TO MEET THE ENCROACHMENTS OF UNDEMOCRATIC INTERESTS.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT THE TEACHER IS ONE OF THE MOST HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE OF WORKERS; THAT THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS WITH THE HAND AND WORKERS WITH THE BRAIN ARE IDENTICAL; THAT THE HOPE OF PROGRESS TOWARD A BROADER AND TRUER DEMOCRACY LIES IN THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF WORKERS OF ALL SORTS, BECAUSE THE INTERESTS OF DEMOCRACY LIE IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHOSE INCOMES ARE DERIVED SOLELY FROM THEIR OWN LABORS.

7. WE BELIEVE THAT, WHILE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ASKS NOTHING WHATEVER FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS IN RETURN FOR ORGANIZED LABOR'S HEARTY SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION, WE MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE COUNCILS OF THE LARGER ORGANIZATION SPECIAL TRAINING AS OF LEADERS AND ADVISERS, A BROAD, INTELLECTUAL OUTLOOK, AN IMPARTIAL MIND, A STEADYING INFLUENCE, AND AN INCREASED SENSE OF SERVICE TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

8. WE BELIEVE IN COOPERATIVE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN EDUCATION, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BEING ALREADY INTENSELY SO, TO SECURE ACTION AND LEGISLATION FAVORABLE TO BETTER EDUCATION.

Book Reviews

Letters to Teachers, by Hartley B. Alexander
Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago

I do not know how intimate Professor Alexander is with Schools and School Systems, but I am led to believe that he has only an academic notion of these matters. No man with a practical knowledge of the educational machinery of the country would indite letters to teachers on questions such as the Curriculum, the Humanities, History, the Bible in the Schools, and the many other interesting questions which the author discusses in charming fashion, a practical student of school affairs knows that teachers have naught to do with these things—at present. How might teachers attain a position of influence in such matters? There's the rub!

The Fourth Letter, on the Schoolyard, opens with this interesting sentence: "For the nonce I should like to be visionary and indulge in Utopian fancy . . ." It has been just this over-indulgence in Utopian fancy that has proved the teacher's undoing, for in it he has found refuge from the feeling of impotence which overcomes every idealistic recruit in the business of teaching. In his college days he is "fed up" with philosophy on the teacher's mission and the teacher's opportunity. When he enters the profession he usually finds himself frustrated in every honest endeavor to live up to those principles. The result is a hopeless pessimism, a grim determination to play the game as one finds it played, or resort to futile Utopian dreamings.

The most usual chapter for a book addressed to teachers is the one entitled "The Failure of the Intellectuals," (In the World War). It is the most interesting one in the book. It is a deservedly severe arraignment of the intellectuals for a betrayal of their trust. The indictment bears repetition here, in part at least. "But of the spirit of the International [Workingmen's Association] was the least articulate, that of the intellectuals was the most articulate of the great professions of European culture." The International failed because it was inarticulate. But what of the Intellectuals? "For from the very first it was abundantly evident that the intellectuals—naturalists and historians and all—were merely the propagandists of a narrow nationalism . . . To see a thing so idealized distorted to grotesque abuse and what had been proclaimed the saviour of humanity made the slave of man's corruption, this can end only in shock and revulsion and the gall of bitter denial." An eloquent confession for all intellectuals, which may be good for their souls. But what can we teachers do that such betrayal shall not recur? The author indulges in but word consolation. "The future will refuse to own any mere intellectualism, but will demand in its place (and we need not shun the word) a confessed spiritualism."

Anatole France coped with the same problem in different fashion. He spoke at Tours on August 7th to the

Congress of Teachers' Institutes, a *labor* body of intellectuals, a labor body become articulate. He said in part: "My friends, make hatred hated! It is the most necessary and simple part of your task. The state to which a devastating war has reduced France and the whole world imposes upon you duties extremely complex and consequently extremely difficult to fulfil. Pardon me for returning to this; it is the great point upon which everything depends. It is for you, without aid or support, or even of consent, to change primary education from the ground up, in order to make workers. There is place in our society only for workers; the rest will be swept away in the storm. . . ."

. . . I wish, I wish with all my heart that a delegation of the teachers of all nations might soon join the Workers' Internationale in order to prepare in common a universal form of education, and advise as to methods of sowing in young minds ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of peoples."

What They Say

A PLEA FOR GUIDANCE

To a Board of Superintendents:

I am a teacher with a wife and four children. My only support is my salary as a teacher. In view of the fact that so many teachers have been suspended without pay for various offenses, I am writing to ask your advice, for I certainly cannot afford to run the risk of being suspended without pay.

I want advice on a number of subjects, for if I go wrong in any of these, I am liable to suspension and to charges of disloyalty.

What is a gentleman? One of my colleagues has been suspended for conduct unbecoming a gentleman, so I surely must know what a gentleman is, so that I may be one. If the definition of a gentleman is too hard to give, be so kind as to tell me what I am to understand by "conduct unbecoming a gentleman."

What is a Bolshevik? Here again I am on dangerous ground; if I answer wrong I am liable to lose my head, as one of my colleagues has already done.

What is Socialism? Am I to condemn it in toto, including such radical things as the post office and the public schools, or am I to say that there is good Socialism and bad? What shall I read? This is very important, for one of my colleagues was suspended for reading, and advising his pupils to read, the wrong books. I am in the habit of reading several books a week, but I may be cutting my own throat in thus doing, so I humbly ask advice.

Shall I have opinions and express them, or shall I become a rubber stamp? Would you rather have a teacher with opinions or one with none? Here, again, I am on dangerous ground. One of my friends became unavailable for

promotion because he publicly upheld the right of teachers to free speech. The board would have nothing to do with him after that.

This leads directly to another question: I am ambitious. I should like to reach the higher educational positions. How shall I fit myself for promotion? I have taken graduate work in my specialty. I have written several text books. I have been prominent in professional teachers' organizations in city, state, and nation. I have even broken into "Who's Who." But all these are as nothing, it seems to me. I should have spent the years which I have squandered in advancing myself professionally, in making political connections. I should have secured the friendship of this Mason, and that Knight of Columbus; I ought to have made friends of the mammon of unrighteousness in various ways. But I haven't and my name in the New York schools, is

DENNIS.

STILL THE OPEN SEASON.

The heresy-hunters in the New York public schools are having a happy time these days, even if the number of Communist teachers they have discovered has shrunk from six to two. But last week Messrs. Tildsley and Ettinger caught a real rascal in the person of a certain teacher in the DeWitt Clinton High School who pleaded guilty—with absolute brazenness—to reading liberal journals! Naturally they withheld from this traitor a permanent teaching license. Dr. Tildsley's finding is so delicious that we cannot refrain from printing it in full, even if we thereby give Prof. Veblen ground for action for criminal libel:

Permanent license not recommended. Mr. Harrow recommended his pupils to read an article in *The Dial* of February 22, 1919, by Thornstein Veller (sic!), entitled: "Bolshevism is a Menace—To Whom?" An article which is an apology for Bolshevism and which impresses wrong ideas upon the boys. They would gain from it the impression that the Bolsheviks were justified in denying food to the small shopkeepers and others of the middle classes on the ground they were "kept people" who contributed nothing to production. He compares their action in withholding necessities of life from these people to the action of the Allies in shutting off food from Germany. I send with this a copy of the article. His action in thus recommending an article which would tend to make the boys less hostile to Bolshevism is in accord with the general impression he has made upon me. His favorite reading is said to be *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Dial*. He occupied a front seat at each session of the Glassberg trial and seemed to approve sentiments expressed in favor of the Bolsheviks. I believe it would be wise therefore to renew his license merely and warn him that his work is teaching English, and that he should be more careful in his recommendations of articles for his pupils to read.

From *The Nation*, of November 29, 1919

Society never had a truer friend than Henry C. Frick.—From Editorial in the *New York Times*, of December 8.

Society must include the Homestead strikers of that terrible year of 1892, and the *Times* has said that Frick fought to win that struggle, no matter what might happen to the families of the strikers.

New Words

Every teacher should be up to date and know the new words and how to pronounce them.



GREAT WAR

fourth arm
camouflage
calibrate
blighty



AIRCRAFT

empennage
backswep
Albatros
squadron



AUTOMOBILE

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crank case
landaulet
cyclear

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FAMILY NEEDS OF GOVERNMENT WORKERS \$2,200, SAYS CHIEF OF LABOR STATISTICS

WASHINGTON.—For the use of the Joint Congressional Commission on Reclassification of Civil Service Salaries, Dr. Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has compiled a family budget showing the minimum cost of a "health and decency standard of living" in Washington for the typical family of five. The total cost of this budget, Dr. Meeker's figures show, is a little more than \$2,200 per year.

The cost of the same standard of living for a single woman as ascertained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is \$1,083 a year; for a single man \$1,000. Dr. Meeker itemizes the family budget as follows:

Food	\$773.93
Clothing:	
Husband	\$121.16
Wife	166.46
Boy (11 yrs.)	96.60
Girl (5 yrs.)	82.50
Boy (2 yrs.)	47.00
	513.72
Housing, fuel and light	428.00
Miscellaneous	546.82
Total	\$2,262.47

That this is actually an irreducible minimum is urged by officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees, who cite such items in the budget as an allowance of a quart and one-quarter of milk per day for three little children; one and one-half pairs of shoes per year for the father of the family, and one winter union suit each per year for father and mother. Other items in the budget are similarly meager as to quantity.



Literature and Music

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No teacher of English would neglect the opportunity of having his class listen to the music records of the songs of Burns, Longfellow, or Tennyson. Music is here fitted to poetry. But poetry is music.

Tell the pupils the story of Shakespeare's "Cymbeline." Describe the occasion that called forth

that inspiring morning song, "Hark! Hark! the Lark!" What kind of bird is a Lark? What are its habits? Who is Phoebus? Where is "heaven's gate?" Then play

Columbia Record A5484, "Hark! Hark! the Lark!" piano solo by Godowsky. Forget the words. Note Schubert's employment of brilliant chords for "Hark! Hark!" Observe the musical grammar in the phrase corresponding with "To ope their golden eyes." Study the musical progression in the last three lines, "My lady sweet, arise, arise, arise!"

There is no element of poetry—*type, rhythm, metre, rhyme, figure of speech, stanza form, or sentence structure* that cannot find its identical counterpart in music.

What is true of *Poetry* is also true of the *Drama* and *Fiction*. There is the same element of organization of material and emotional appeal.

The booklet, "Literature and Music," is a complete treatise of the subject, relating all types and elements of *Poetry, Drama and Fiction* to the corresponding form in music. It contains record and literature lists, exercises and a bibliography of helpful books and magazines. Send for free copy.



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